

The Abbeville Press.

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TERMS—TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM.]

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[PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.]

BY W. A. LEE AND HUGH WILSON, JR.

ABBEVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA, FRIDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 7, 1860.

VOLUME VIII.—NO. 32.

THE GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Nothing has transpired, since your recent Extra Session, that requires any special notice. The past year has been remarkable for the unprecedented health with which our citizens have been blessed; and, although the crop, both of cotton and grain, is again a short one, yet with a more judicious use of our breadstuffs will have to be imported from other States, and the cotton crop will, in all probability, enable the planter to meet his ordinary liabilities by bringing a fair and remunerating price. For these favors, and particularly for our good health, we should always bear in mind the source from whence they come, and with grateful hearts and earnest voices, send up to the throne of grace our sincere thanks for such rich blessings, so liberally bestowed upon us. And while we appoint days of humiliation and prayer, and invoke each other to observe them, let us not forget that we, too, should call upon God to sustain us in this crisis of our country's history, and give us the wisdom to plan and the energy to perfect our own, and contribute to the deliverance of the South.

In providing for the improvement of the Port of Charleston, and the dredging in the Beach or Middle Channel, the Legislature made an appropriation of \$30,000, but for some reason, the report making Commissioners to superintend the work, and agreed to by both Houses, was withheld, and it was evidently the intention of the Legislature to have the work carried on, having appropriated funds for the purpose. I took the responsibility of appointing Commissioners to superintend the work, and believed those that were named in the report of the Committee of the House of Representatives.

CATAWA INDIANS.—In my last annual message, I recommended that a small appropriation be made to pay the traveling expenses of two or three of the head men of the Catawas, who desired to go on a visit to examine the Choctaw country, and report to the tribe on their return, hoping that a favorable report might induce them all to remove West. In this expectation, I have not been disappointed. The appropriation of five hundred dollars, in consequence of the excitement and pressure of business at the last session, not being placed in a condition to be drawn from the treasury by the Indian Agent, it becomes necessary for me to advance the money out of the contingent fund of the Executive Department, and Mr. D. J. Rice, Indian Agent, accompanied by Allan and John Harris, two of the chiefs, started on the 16th July last, to visit and examine the Choctaw country, and returned on the 29th August. Unfortunately, Allan Harris died soon after his arrival at his destination; but notwithstanding this great calamity, John Harris was so pleased with the country, and the reception he met with, that he determined to remain, and has written such a flattering letter to his tribe, deriving from it great advantages to be derived from its removal to that country, and this account has been so fully endorsed and confirmed by the Indian Agent, that seventy-four out of the fifty-five of the Indians living in the nation in this State, have agreed to remove, and have signed a petition to Gov. B. Leffler and the Choctaw Council, praying for admission into the Choctaw nation. The Council met on the 1st Monday in October last, and although no information has been received by me of their decision, yet from the opinion of the Indian Agent, derived from frequent conversations with the leading men, there is no reasonable doubt but their application has been favorably received by the Council, and citizenship granted to them on favorable terms, considering the advantages that will be enjoyed by the almost extinct Catawa tribe. The Congress of the United States made an appropriation of five thousand dollars in the year 1855, to remove the Catawa Indians; but, as it was not called for, it lapsed into the general treasury in July, 1857, and cannot be used without a re-appropriation by Congress. My recommendation at the last session, that an application be made to Congress for a re-appropriation, must be now withdrawn, and we must look to South Carolina alone to furnish the means for their removal. With this statement of facts, the matter is left to your discretion, and you can best judge whether funds can be now spared to effect an desirable object.

STATE GEOLOGIST.—Oscar M. Lieber has, on the second of April last, tendered to me his resignation as State Geologist. Although at the last session of the Legislature the office was continued for the current year, and Mr. Lieber appointed to fill it, yet the appropriation for his salary and expenses was stricken from the appropriation bill, and he had no alternative but to resign, or serve the State gratuitously. Upon consultation with me, I advised Mr. Lieber not to resign until he had completed the last report, that it might, together with those previously published, embrace the statements concerning everything of importance which had been observed or effected during the four years of his service. He has also prepared a glossary and index for the four reports, without which their value would be greatly lessened. Three months has been necessary to perfect the report, index, &c., and I recommend that he be paid for said services in proportion to his salary.

DIRECT TRADE.—There can be no difference of opinion on the great importance of establishing direct trade between Charleston and Liverpool, or any other country with which we can exchange commodities. In the Union, it was important and necessary to our commercial prosperity to divert a part of the commerce of the world from New York and other Northern Cities to

the City of Charleston, and thus build up a great commercial emporium, with ability to supply its own and the merchants of the neighboring States, with a cheap and well filled market; from which in turn, they could supply their customers in the interior towns and villages.

In view of the secession of South Carolina from the Union, it becomes doubly important, and absolutely necessary, that we must have direct trade with Europe and the continent; and as a large amount of capital is necessary, and there will be some risk in the beginning of such an enterprise, I would recommend that the Legislature should to some extent foster and encourage such enterprises by taking upon themselves a part of the losses that might follow the effort to establish direct trade. Some enterprising citizens of Charleston propose to establish a line of steam Propellers between Charleston and Liverpool, and ask the State to guarantee an interest of five per cent. per annum upon the capital invested in the steamers, as long as they shall continue in the service. This seems to me to be a very fair and reasonable proposition. It cannot possibly be a speculation on the part of its projectors, because in no event will they receive more than five per cent. and at this time at a much higher rate of interest. If the enterprise should turn out to be profitable, the State will have nothing to pay, and the certainty that the parties will realize five per cent. under any circumstances, will certainly not prevent them from using great exertions to make a larger dividend. The benefits are not confined to the City of Charleston alone; every thing that facilitates commerce and cheapens merchandise will benefit all parties of the State, and should meet with general encouragement. If it is feared that these steamers may be continued in the service after all hope of profit has ceased, and a perpetual tax thus entailed upon the State, provision may be made for discontinuing them in a given time, or some other safeguards may in the wisdom of the Legislature be thrown around the enterprise, so as to prevent any unnecessary and useless expenditure of public money.

THE LEXATIC ASYLUM.—This Institution, under the excellent management of Dr. Parker and the Regents, has realized more than could have been expected or even hoped for from its founders; and the curative results of the present year surpass the success of former years, and compare favorably with the reports of the best Insane Hospitals in other States. No accident has occurred since your last meeting, and no epidemic disease has, to any extent, visited the asylum. At the beginning of the year there were 194 patients, 69 have been received since, making the number under treatment 263; of whom, 37 have been sent home cured, 8 removed, and 26 died, leaving 192. Of those who died, a large majority were marked in last year's Tabular Statement, as infirm in body, and hopelessly insane. Many applications of males, for admission from other States, were made, and had to be refused for want of room; and for the same reason, male inmates from our own State could not be received.

I would respectfully suggest, that Lunacy and good policy dictate that the accommodations should be further increased until room enough is prepared for at least all sexes and colors in our own State.—South Carolina, in view of the bright career of greatness and glory that awaits her, should not be indifferent or insensitive to the sufferings of her humble children, but extend her maternal hand to lessen and alleviate their sufferings.

THE LAWS.—In looking forward to the separate nationality of South Carolina, many changes will have to be made in existing laws, a part of which you no doubt, will be directed to do, by an ordinance of the Convention of the people soon to assemble; but it may not be improper to bring to your notice the importance of a speedy postal arrangement, to supply the one under the control of the Federal Government. I am authorized to say, that the Postmaster at Charleston, Hon. Alfred Huger, than whom a purer patriot never lived, will, as soon as the State resumes her sovereignty by an ordinance of her Convention, sever his connection with the Federal Government, and obey any call the State may make upon him for his services. This movement, together with the resignation of all other postmasters, will enable the State to act without embarrassment, in establishing for herself postal arrangements. As a temporary expedient, an arrangement might be made with the Adams Express Company, to carry mails, until a postal arrangement of a permanent character could be established, the details of which, must, to some extent, depend upon the action of other Southern States.

The duties of the Governor in future, will necessarily be arduous and responsible, and he should at all times be accessible to the people who may have official business to transact with him. My experience satisfies me, that it will require all the time of the Executive, with such help as may be given him by a secretary and clerk, to discharge the responsible duties that will devolve upon him in his new position, as Chief of an Independent State; and I therefore recommend that the salary of the Governor be increased; that he be furnished with a house and furniture, and be required to reside in the town of Columbia; also, that the salary of his private secretary be increased, not only to a mere scribe, but of an intelligent, active, and educated gentleman, who will be capable of conducting any correspondence, with the mere revision of his chief. He should also have a clerk of his own, to do the copying that may be necessary, and such other duties as may be required of him.

There seems to be no longer any reason why the State should have two Treasurers. It requires two sets of officers, to do what one could easily and readily perform; and

Columbia is now accessible from all parts of the State, no inconvenience could possibly arise from uniting the Treasurers there. The Treasurer should also be required to reside in Columbia, and not depend upon a deputy to discharge the duties of the office. The practice now is, to elect a Treasurer with a salary sufficient to enable him to employ a competent deputy, and will save money for himself. The responsible duties of the office are not performed by the one chosen by the Legislature on account of his fitness and qualifications, but by a man chosen by the Treasurer, and responsible to him alone; and although the Treasurer is himself responsible to the Legislature for the faithful performance of the duties of his office, yet the mischief done by the deputy may be irreparable, the State suffer, and the officer be ruined.

The law prohibiting masters from permitting slaves to hire their own time, and in the contracts, should be amended, and such penalties attached to its violation, that no one would disregard it. Without suggesting the particular penalty, I would recommend that both the owner of the slave and the party that hires him or her, should be punished by fine and imprisonment, according to the mitigating or aggravating circumstances that attend the case. Some inconvenience will no doubt arise from such an enactment, and may be necessary to make some exceptional cases; for instance, the express or impeded contract with a black porter to carry your trunk or carpet bag, or your errand; but this may be done, and yet much good result from the general law on the subject.

It not infrequently happens that slave mechanics hire white men to work under their direction, and for their benefit, and thus instead of exercising a control over that class of population, some are placed under obligations to them. This state of things should not be permitted; there must be a distinction between the races, as marked as their different colors, it must be distinctly and universally understood that the white is the governing race, without an exception, and without regard to disparity of intellect, merit or acquirements.

The general recognition by the citizens of South Carolina of their allegiance to the State and that obedience to the Federal Government ceases as soon as the State withdraws from the Union and asserts her sovereignty, satisfies me that she will have no traitors in her limits; but a wise precaution can result in no harm, and may be the means of advertising our people that if any of them should be so forgetful of their duty to their sovereign, and so reckless of her pleasure as to disregard her ordinances, or obey any other commands than those of the constituted authorities of the State, they will be dealt with as traitors and punished accordingly. In view, therefore, of such a contingency, some legislation may be necessary in more particularly defining treason to the State, and affixing the proper punishment for the offence. South Carolina must insist upon the implicit obedience of all her citizens, both native and naturalized, and no one can be permitted to put his individual construction upon the relation he bears to the State of his birth or adoption. The obligation of the citizens of South Carolina to obey the laws of the Federal Government was created by the act of the State entering the Union under the compact entered into by the sovereign parties to it, and it follows that when the withdrawal of the State, the obligation is no longer binding. The secession of a State cannot, in the proper use of the term, be called a revolutionary movement. It is true there will to some extent be a change of government, such as dissolving a compact between sovereigns in which it was stipulated that the citizens of each State or nation should perform certain duties, which, before the agreement of the high contracting parties, they were not required to perform, or abstain from certain rights, which they have previously enjoyed; but this dissolution of a compact does not imply rebellion, which, if successful, is revolution, and which, if unsuccessful, subjects the citizens to punishment for committing treason. Why are we at this moment citizens of the United States? Because South Carolina in her sovereign capacity made us so, by a compact entered into with the other States, which, when united, were called the United States, and it follows that when the power that ordered us to obey the Government of the United States, and which alone had the right to create that relationship, releases from that obligation by withdrawing from the league, our obedience is no longer due to that Government, and our allegiance to the State as our lawful sovereign is unquestionable and undivided.

The introduction of slaves from other States, which may not become members of the Southern Confederacy, and particularly by legislative enactment, and by this means they will be brought to see that their safety depends upon their withdrawal from their enemies, and an union with their natural allies. If they should continue their union with the non-slaveholding States, let them keep their slave property within their borders, and the only alternative left them will be emancipation by their own act, or by the action of their confederates. We cannot consent to relieve them from their embarrassing situation, by permitting them to realize the money value for their slaves, by selling them to us, and thus preparing them, without any loss of property, to accommodate themselves to the Northern free soil. But should they unite their destiny with us, and become stars in the Southern galaxy—members of a great Southern Confederation—we will receive them with open arms and an enthusiastic greeting. Should, then, danger approach their borders, or any emergency, open or disguised, make war upon them, there is no doubt but a living support of freedom, from the Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico, would find their borders, and beat back the invaders.

To dispense with the necessity, as much as may be possible, of resorting to lynch

law and illegal executions, in punishing offenders against the peace and safety of our citizens, I would suggest the enactment of a law, punishing summarily and severely, if not with death, any person that circulates incendiary documents, avows himself an abolitionist, or in any way attempts to create insubordination or insurrection among the slaves. If some act of this kind is not passed, the people, goaded to madness by the frequent attempts to disturb their quiet and destroy their property and lives, will not under excitement, be very careful in measuring the punishment they inflict, and it is to be feared that the innocent may suffer with the guilty, and scenes of violence and blood shed too frequently occur. With the knowledge that there is a law to reach the cases, the legal tribunals of the State will be first appealed to, and in most cases their decision will be satisfactory to the people, made, as it will be, under oath and with time for reflection and examination.

There are many other amendments to the laws that suggest themselves to my mind; such as requiring a white man to reside at all times on any plantation, without regard to the number of hands—a change in the road laws, imposing a tax in the place of days work—the repeal of the Usury Laws, &c., &c.; but these are comparatively unimportant, in view of the now certain action of the Convention soon to meet, which I believe will be on the construction of a government suitable to the new order of things, with all its ramifications.

RESOLUTIONS.—The resolution of the General Assembly, directing the Governor to communicate to all the slaveholding States certain resolutions adopted immediately expressing the opinion they should immediately meet in convention to consider measures for united action, and copies of the resolutions sent to every Southern State, Mississippi and Alabama were the only States that agreed to meet South Carolina in Convention, and as no delegates had been appointed by the Legislature, I did not feel authorized to make an appointment without there had been a general agreement of the Southern States to meet. Had such been the case, I would either have convened the Legislature to appoint delegates, or have taken the responsibility of appointing them myself. The consequence was, no Convention met, and each State was left to act for herself, and upon her own responsibility.

The resolution authorizing the Governor to have the documents and correspondence of the officers of the Palmetto Regiment, and the casualties of the Regiment, recorded in a suitable book and placed among the archives of the Executive Department, has been carried out, and the book is now in the Executive office, subject to the inspection of the members of the Legislature. B. F. Arthur, Esq., of Union, was employed to do the work, and I am pleased to say, it has been done in a very creditable and satisfactory manner. Much more labor was necessary than the mere recording; the correspondence, it required the reading and re-reading of all the papers, and the exercise of a correct judgment in the arrangement, not only chronologically, but with reference to the necessary connection of the whole volume. The book has been neatly and durably bound, and will for years be a book of reference, not only for the descendants of those that dispelled the delusion of the North, that the minority of South Carolina would not fight, but for the whole of our people, who claim a share of the glory they believed for their country, and wish to imitate their example. I recommend that a liberal appropriation be made to cover the cost of the book.

Another resolution which passed General Assembly unanimously, requesting the Governor to procure a suitable sword and present it to Capt. N. G. Evans, of the United States Army, on behalf of this State, as a testimonial of his gallant conduct at the battle of Wachita, and of the estimation in which he is held by the State, has been attended to, and the sword designed for Capt. Evans is now in the Executive office, ready for presentation, and would have been forwarded to him, but for the suggestion of his friends, that as soon as South Carolina severed her connection with the Federal Government, he would resign his commission and repair to her standard to receive the sword in person, and wield it in defence of his native State.

Gen. Williams, of Newberry, was employed by me to compile the Militia and Patrol laws of the State, under a resolution of the last Session, and the work being done in a satisfactory manner, I recommend that he be paid for his services.

The duty imposed on the Governor, under a resolution in relation to the surveys and estimates made by R. C. McCall, for the Greenville and French Broad Railroad Company, have been complied with by the appointment of J. S. Farrow, Esq., one of the Commissioners whose duty it was, to concert with four other persons, appointed as prescribed in the resolution, to inquire and report upon the accuracy of the surveys and estimates made by R. C. McCall, for the Greenville and French Broad Railroad Company, on Nov. 15, 1859, for the construction of a Railroad from Spartanburg to C. H. S. C. to Abbeville, &c., &c., and to have their report printed and placed upon the desks of the members of the two Houses.

By the direction of the Legislature in the form of a resolution, I have sent merchants and two wharf loaders of Charleston, who with the President of the Chamber of Commerce, constitute a commission, who are instructed to inquire and ascertain what reasonable rates of wharfing, dockage, storage, weighing, &c., for the port of Charleston, and they are directed to report to your bodies at the present session.

For a detailed account of the finances of the State, you are referred to the Reports of the Comptroller General and the President of the Bank of the State.

The condition and resources of the South Carolina Banks, and of the whole South, bear a very favorable comparison with the Northern Banks. A northern writer puts down the aggregate amount of specie in the Northern Banks \$47,670,759; Circulation \$156,068,530; Deposits, 190,577,950.—In the Southern Banks, Specie, \$95,923,778; Circulation, \$61,033,047; Deposits, \$57,224,179. Showing that while the circulation and deposits of the Northern Banks are seven times greater than the specie in their vaults, the circulation and deposits of the Southern Banks are only three times as much as their specie, and their circulation alone only one and a half the amount of their specie.

All the banks in the State, judging from their reports, are in a safe and sound condition, and prepared to meet all their liabilities promptly, unless some commercial crisis takes place, which may for a time cripple their resources and make it difficult for them to meet all their engagements. It was proposed at the Extra Session to raise four hundred thousand dollars, by issuing State bonds, to arm the State and prepare for her defence, but for want of time, no decision was made on the proposition. In the mean time, however, and with great promptness the Bank of Charleston, through its President, telegraphed to me that it would take one hundred thousand dollars worth of the Bonds of the State at par; and since then a formal resolution of its board has been sent me to the same effect. This act of patriotic duty, on the part of the Bank of Charleston, merits your highest commendation, and sets an example of love to the State and devotion to her cause, worthy of general imitation. The mere 'money changer' would calculate the value of the investment and prospect of gain; but the patriot sees nothing but the necessities of his State, and hastens to pour out his treasures to relieve them.

MARINE SCHOOL OF CHARLESTON.—This school was inaugurated on the 16th, May, 1859, and commenced operations with sixteen pupils, which has since increased to forty-three, with many more applicants than can be received and accommodated. The pupils are not confined to Charleston; but come from Edgefield, Beaufort, Barnwell, Richland, Horry and Colleton. The Board of Trustees report that their health has been good, only one death having occurred, and that one shortly after coming on board; the progress and conduct of the pupils are quite satisfactory, and seven more there are several on board capable of managing a vessel. Feeling a deep interest in the success of the experiment, I visited the school on board the Lodgepole, stationed in Charleston harbor, near the battery, last spring, and was not only gratified, but delighted at the prospect of making useful and valuable sailors, to be called into the service of the State in manning and commanding her vessels of war. Southern seamen are among the great wants of the South, and especially at this critical time, trained as these youths are, not only in many nautical pursuits, but in the use of cannon and arms—the State may with confidence look to them for aid in her hour of danger.

At the last session of the Legislature, the sum of five thousand dollars was appropriated towards the support of this naval school, and as events crowd upon us, making it more important every day that we should have a nursery to prepare steady and capable captains, not only for our mercantile marine, but for our coasting trade and vessels of war, I commend this valuable school to the fostering care of the State, and recommend a liberal appropriation for its benefit.

AN ARMY.—The separation of the Southern States from the North, will leave the Southern States, to a great extent without the facilities of manufacturing arms, for the want of Armories; and it will, therefore, be important for each individual State to establish an Armory, or that two, three or four States should unite for that purpose. We should not be dependent on the North, or a foreign country, for our weapons of defence lest in the hour of need the supply may be withheld from us. Major R. S. Ripley, a citizen of South Carolina, proposes to establish an Armory for the South, in Georgia, Alabama or South Carolina, according as may be agreed on by those States. All he asks is, that each of the three States named should contract with him for fifty thousand dollars worth of arms annually, for five years, and extend their patronage for a short period thereafter; the arms furnished to be up to a standard model, to be determined upon, and delivered at prices fixed by competent authority, and to be subject to the proper military inspection, in part, by State officers; those of each State to inspect the arms for that State. This would be preferable to having an Armory, and would preclude the necessity of burdening each State with an expensive establishment, dependent upon its management by salaried officers, and would require no expenditure by the State until its arms would be received.

There seems to be nothing in the proposition but what is fair and reasonable, and if the State determines to keep up her supply of arms, it cannot be better done than by the plan proposed. Copies of letters from the Governors of Georgia and Alabama, to Maj. Ripley, were sent to me. They approve of the proposition, and propose to recommend to their Legislatures to bind themselves, to take annually fifty thousand dollars worth of arms, to be paid for at the same price paid by the Federal Government for arms of the same finish and description; provided they are of the latest and most approved military patterns, and are manufactured in one of the States mentioned. I would therefore recommend that South Carolina bind herself to take fifty thousand dollars worth of arms annually for five years, from Maj. Ripley, or until the two States named above, until that a negotiation be opened between the three States to settle on the site for the Armory.

NEW STATE CAPITOL.—This building is progressing with much rapidity, considering the material of which it is composed, and the labor necessary to complete such an elegant and durable structure. It is generally conceded that it will compare favorably with any edifice of the kind in the United States or Europe, and reflects great credit upon the architect, the commissioner, and all concerned. The only regret is that it may be necessary to suspend operations, and husband all our resources for the defence of the State. No one regrets more than I do, that such necessity may arise; but we must make every thing give way to the paramount consideration, and reconcile ourselves as best we can to the delay. The Legislature should not make any large appropriations, except for arms and material of war, until there is a full recognition of our rights out of the Union, and no longer any pressing necessity to arm. If the work be suspended, it may be necessary to have some temporary covering to protect it from rain and storms, and especially from being defaced, and it may be necessary to appropriate a small amount for that purpose.

JOHN BROWN'S PIKE.—At the request of a distinguished Virginian, Edmund Ruffin, Esq., I herewith present to the Legislature one of the Pikes intended by John Brown to be used by the negroes of Virginia upon the unoffending and peaceable inhabitants of that State. He requests that this weapon may be placed in some conspicuous position in the State House of South Carolina, there to remain, and be preserved as an abiding and impressive evidence of the fanatical hatred borne by the dominant Northern party, to the institutions and people of the Southern States, and of the unscrupulous and atrocious means resorted to for the expected attainment of the objects in view; and respectfully recommends that the thanks of the State be returned to Mr. Ruffin for this momentary Southern wrong, too long and too patiently borne, and that it be placed in the Hall of the House of Representatives.

assemble which can exercise no legitimate power except to debate and advise, and in no assemblage whatever, until by the ordinance of her Convention she has seceded from a Union which she once assented to, and which has proved a curse instead of a blessing.

The floor of South Carolina to assemble the Southern States, in the hope that the North might be induced to pause and retract their steps, by an earnest and unanimous protest against the course pursued by them; and a resolution that unless a change of policy took place the South would be compelled to take the redress of her grievances in her own hands, based on account of the refusal of Virginia to join in the movement; although her borders had been recently invaded and her citizens murdered in cold blood by a band of abolitionists instigated to the deed by the teachings of men of controlling influence in the North. All hope, therefore, of concerted action by a Southern Convention being lost, there is but one course left for South Carolina to pursue, consistently with her honor, interest and safety, and that is to look neither to the right nor to the left, but go straight forward to the consummation of her purpose.

It is too late now to receive propositions for a conference; and the State would be waiting in self respect, after having deliberately decided on her course, to entertain any proposition looking to a continuance in the present Union. We can get no better or safer guarantee than the present Constitution, and that has proved impotent to protect us against the fanaticism of the North. The institution of slavery must be under the exclusive control of those directly interested in its preservation, and not left to the mercy of those that believe it to be their duty to destroy it.

The tone of the Northern press has greatly changed since the unanimous and determined action of South Carolina. Heretofore, it was supposed by our enemies that we were divided and distracted at home, and that in consequence of our division the success of 1851 would be resumed, and the State would finally acquiesce in Black Republican rule, or at best, that something less than secession would be adopted and our energies exhausted, in fruitless expedients and unavailing threats. Now that the unwelcome conviction forces itself upon them that we have counted the cost, and find nothing so intolerable as voluntary slavery, and that we are not to be deterred from the assertion and maintenance of our rights by the threats of Federal bayonets, or the unmeaning and senseless display of Wide Awake processions, formidable only to the capitalists and conservatives of their own section, they begin to change their tone, and appeal to us, rather as pupils than as conquerors, to save a Union from which they have reaped a rich harvest of profit and honor, and the South has only known by its exactions.

They have been deaf to the voice of reason and consanguinity; they have disregarded the counsels of their wisest and best citizens. Their Neros, in the persons of Seward, Sumner, and others, had been bidding while the Constitution had been trampled under foot, and a higher law inaugurated in its stead, in accordance with their reasonable advice and teaching, and by the crowning act of electing a Black Republican President to carry out their long cherished designs against the peace and prosperity of the South they have declared open war against us.

What course, then, is left for the Southern States to pursue for the maintenance of their rights and the security of their property, but a separation from such open and undisguised enemies, and the establishment of a Southern Confederacy, with every element of greatness and every means of defence necessary to protect them from any enemy and command the respect and admiration of the world? It is gratifying to know that in the contemplated movement South Carolina has strong acquiescence that she will not stand alone; that if the lone star we must have, it will be but for a short season, when star after star will be added, and the Southern banner 'present to the heavens the bright constellation that adorns it.'

There is no reasonable doubt but that Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas will immediately follow, and that the old or Southern States will eventually complete the galaxy. It was not to be expected they would move before South Carolina; not on account of any want of patriotism and determination to re-assert on and insult, not because they are less informed of their rights, or less prepared to defend them; but on account of the national parties, so lately striving for victory in the Presidential canvass; in which contest, there would naturally arise distrust and jealousy of each other, and a scruple for the ascendancy. Now that the Presidential election is over and an enemy of their section is chosen to rule over them, we find all parties becoming united against the common enemy and prepared to forget their past divisions, and unite in defence of their altars and firesides.

Thus we see that although Virginia had strong hopes at that time of preserving the Federal Union, she was unwilling to resist to any other way of effecting it, than by the separate action of each State, which would have the effect of producing the concurrent action of all the States interested. If therefore Virginia is right, as to the best mode of redressing wrongs and obtaining the consented action of other States, it follows that the separate action of each is the best method of getting on equal terms with a Government, and would therefore be the course of South Carolina in initiating a Virginia, to decline a representation in any

power except to debate and advise, and in no assemblage whatever, until by the ordinance of her Convention she has seceded from a Union which she once assented to, and which has proved a curse instead of a blessing.

The floor of South Carolina to assemble the Southern States, in the hope that the North might be induced to pause and retract their steps, by an earnest and unanimous protest against the course pursued by them; and a resolution that unless a change of policy took place the South would be compelled to take the redress of her grievances in her own hands, based on account of the refusal of Virginia to join in the movement; although her borders had been recently invaded and her citizens murdered in cold blood by a band of abolitionists instigated to the deed by the teachings of men of controlling influence in the North. All hope, therefore, of concerted action by a Southern Convention being lost, there is but one course left for South Carolina to pursue, consistently with her honor, interest and safety, and that is to look neither to the right nor to the left, but go straight forward to the consummation of her purpose.

It is too late now to receive propositions for a conference; and the State would be waiting in self respect, after having deliberately decided on her course, to entertain any proposition looking to a continuance in the present Union. We can get no better or safer guarantee than the present Constitution, and that has proved impotent to protect us against the fanaticism of the North. The institution of slavery must be under the exclusive control of those directly interested in its preservation, and not left to the mercy of those that believe it to be their duty to destroy it.

The tone of the Northern press has greatly changed since the unanimous and determined action of South Carolina. Heretofore, it was supposed by our enemies that we were divided and distracted at home, and that in consequence of our division the success of 1851 would be resumed, and the State would finally acquiesce in Black Republican rule, or at best, that something less than secession would be adopted and our energies exhausted, in fruitless expedients and unavailing threats. Now that the unwelcome conviction forces itself upon them that we have counted the cost, and find nothing so intolerable as voluntary slavery, and that we are not to be deterred from the assertion and maintenance of our rights by the threats of Federal bayonets, or the unmeaning and senseless display of Wide Awake processions, formidable only to the capitalists and conservatives of their own section, they begin to change their tone, and appeal to us, rather as pupils than as conquerors, to save a Union from which they have reaped a rich harvest of profit and honor, and the South has only known by its exactions.

They have been deaf to the voice of reason and consanguinity; they have disregarded the counsels of their wisest and best citizens. Their Neros, in the persons of Seward, Sumner, and others, had been bidding while the Constitution had been trampled under foot, and a higher law inaugurated in its stead, in accordance with their reasonable advice and teaching, and by the crowning act of electing a Black Republican President to carry out their long cherished designs against the peace and prosperity of the South they have declared open war against us.

What course, then, is left for the Southern States to pursue for the maintenance of their rights and the security of their property, but a separation from such open and undisguised enemies, and the establishment of a Southern Confederacy, with every element of greatness and every means of defence necessary to protect them from any enemy and command the respect and admiration of the world? It is gratifying to know that in the contemplated movement South Carolina has strong acquiescence that she will not stand alone; that if the lone star we must have, it will be but for a short season, when star after star will be added, and the Southern banner 'present to the heavens the bright constellation that adorns it.'

There is no reasonable doubt but that Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas will immediately follow, and that the old or Southern States will eventually complete the galaxy. It was not to be expected they would move before South Carolina; not on account of any want of patriotism and determination to re-assert on and insult, not because they are less informed of their rights, or less prepared to defend them; but on account of the national parties, so lately striving for victory in the Presidential canvass; in which contest, there would naturally arise distrust and jealousy of each other, and a scruple for the ascendancy. Now that the Presidential election is over and an enemy of their section is chosen to rule over them, we find all parties becoming united against the common enemy and prepared to forget their past divisions, and unite in defence of their altars and firesides.

Thus we see that although Virginia had strong hopes at that time of preserving the Federal Union, she was unwilling to resist to any other way of effecting it, than by the separate action of each State, which would have the effect of producing the concurrent action of all the States interested. If therefore Virginia is right, as to the best mode of redressing wrongs and obtaining the consented action of other States, it follows that the separate action of each is the best method of getting on equal terms with a Government, and would therefore be the course of South Carolina in initiating a Virginia, to decline a representation in any